1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

867 My son, whenever people go on the warpath go along with them.
721 It is good to die on the warpath. You may perhaps say so, because you are unhappy that your wife has left you. My son, not for such reasons, however, must you go on the warpath. You will be merely throwing away a human life. If you want to go on the warpath, do so because you feel that you are courageous enough, not because you are unhappy at the loss of your wife. If you go on the warpath you will enjoy yourself. Do not go, however, unless you have fasted,
[785] and unless you have fasted for that particular warpath. If you have not fasted and attempt nevertheless to go on the warpath, a bullet will surely seek you out and kill you. This is what will happen to you if you do not fast.

[593 If you exert yourself in fasting you will assuredly perform some
[604 brave war exploit. You must tell your sisters and sister's children
605] and your mother's sisters all about your exploit. Remember, also, that the keepers of the war-bundles can give you good advice in all that pertains to war. For their deeds they will be given a good dish of meat.[34] This they will give you to eat.

Of such things did my ancestors speak, and I would wish you to do as they did. That is why I am telling you all these things. I myself never asked for any of this instruction, but my father did. All human beings ought to ask for it. Never let anybody be in a position to puzzle you in regard to what is right. Ask for this instruction, my son, for it is not an ordinary thing. In the olden
867 times if a person loved his child very much, he would only give him instruction after he had begun fasting all day for the first time. When a young boy has just matured, those who have been preaching
[881] to him always ask him one question, namely, whether he had begun to fast. And this the young boy must always answer truthfully, for if he has begun his fast the instruction would stop. The old men do not preach to men, but only to boys.

881 (What follows is apparently an illustration of how a young man
887 asks his instructor for information of how to conduct himself in life.)
867 The young man will go to an old man and say, "Grandfather, I would like to know how I am to conduct myself in life. Bless me and if you can really give me any information, do so." Then the old man was very thankful and said, "It is good; you speak correctly." Now the one who was asking something of the old man had taken very good care of the old man's body and had led a good life. He had no scars of any kind; that is, he had never done anything shameful. The young man brought all sorts of food and placed it in the lodge of the old man. Then he also brought him a fine horse. Only then did he ask him again about the life that his ancestors had led, and what kind of a life he ought to live. He asked

[34] I. e., you will be given a position at the Winter Feast and offered some of the choice pieces of meat.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

614 572 The relation of *hitcak'oro* or "friend clan" is thus strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'oro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong, inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship [604] seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephew (*hitcegeg*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relation as that existing between *hidek'* and *hitcegeg*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and clan *hitcak'oro*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious; in the latter, only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcegeg* relation, the individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* all may be of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation of even a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'oro* relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'oro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bond was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'oro* bears to the individual *hitcak'oro* relation, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

THE SPECIFIC POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

614 778 Among the Omaha a number of clans have in their possession certain objects around which not merely the clan but also the tribal reverence is centered. Historically, we believe that these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing remotely comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

The specific material possessions of the clan consist of certain war bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. There also exist war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waxgeregi*, the other among the *manegi* divisions. In connection with the clan bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as Winter Feasts. The distribution of the clan bundle differentiates [771] these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

Society of Those Who Have Received Blessings From the Night Spirits

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony. 796 539 575 [252] 575 796 604 539

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home. [726]

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same. [203]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

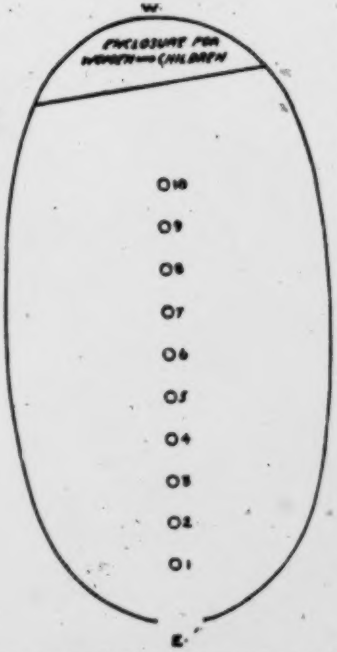

FIG. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for disease-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for herbs.

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

[1] This is a generalized account.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

the ones who will be the victors. It is said of you that even if a prayer be offered to you in silence, along with the tobacco, you will hear it. Here we offer you tobacco, deer for food, and buckskin for moccasins. This, grandfather, is our prayer and our offering.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, do we offer tobacco. We desire to have victory in battle. The blessings you bestowed upon our grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, when you blessed him with the powers of a warrior, those give to us now. The blessings that were not fulfilled by him (that is, all those blessings that death prevented him from using) we ask that they may be fulfilled by us. Tobacco and deer for food and buckskin, all these we offer to you. Here it is. Here it is.

"To you, Morning Star, do we offer tobacco. When my grandfather was blessed with your power, while he was making his war bundle, he was to give you tobacco for smoking and food at midnight. That is what we are trying to do, although we are lacking in all the essentials necessary for success. However, we wish to be prepared in times of trouble and that is why we ask, grandfather, that we be blessed with life. A kettle with tobacco, enough buckskin for moccasins, and tobacco we offer to you.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco also. We pray for victory in war and for all the medicines that are necessary to obtain it, so that we may bind ourselves with medicine: that we may use the flowers of the earth for paint—all that is red and all that is blue—this we ask of you. Should there be anything better, we ask that you arrange it so that we obtain it. Tobacco and corn for food do we offer to you, and should you need more tobacco we will send it along. Here it is.

"To you, Eagle Chief, you who blessed our grandfather with power to conquer in war while he was making his bundle of spirit-power, do we offer tobacco. For all that he told us to retain and which he said was powerful in the bundle, I am making this feast. I am trying to-night to make a feast in honor of the spirits. To you and to the hawk I offer this kettle."

All the kettles which are to be used at this feast have by this time been put on. The nephews act as attendants and place the kettles on the fireplaces. Those spirits for whom no kettles are placed on the fire receive tobacco as an offering. After the host has offered tobacco to these latter spirits, he returns to his place and sits down. Then the war-bundle owners to whom tobacco had been given get up in turn and with one hand pour tobacco into the fire and with the other upon the war bundle. The host then rises and speaks as follows:

"Sons of war, and you who stand in the footsteps of the spirits, all you who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are boiling hot water for

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12

seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions; although one individual postulated them just on this basis, i.e., Thunderbird—Bear, Warrior—Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird—Warrior; Eagle—Pigeon; Bear—Wolf; Buffalo—Water-spirit; Elk—Deer; Snake—Fish. Most informants do not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associate it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *waŋgeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend," although some divide them into Thunderbird—Warrior and Eagle—Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" is again apparent at the "naming" feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

The relation of "*hitcakᵊᵓro*" or "friend-clan" is strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcakᵊᵓro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an uncle (*hidekᵊ*) and his nephews (*hitcᵓcge*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidekᵊ* and *hitcᵓcge*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12

dividual and clan *hitcak'ɔro*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek-hitcɛgɛ* relation, the individual *hitcak'ɔro*, and the clan *hitcak'ɔro* may be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'ɔro* and the clan *hitcak'ɔro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'ɔro*[1] relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ɔro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ɔro* bears to the individual *hitcak'ɔro* relation of individuals, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

The "Servant" Relationship.

The *hitcak'ɔro* relation is entirely one between equals, irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping, with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is, for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship," there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation. The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service for another without that specific service being reciprocal. Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunderbird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is not to be confused with the general subordination of all the other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relationship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the chief every morning to receive certain directions from him, which he then announces to the whole village. But this relationship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

[1] [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*[159] [588] [203] [604] was over. Indeed, I even got married there. I kept on drinking all the time. It was then that a nephew of mine begged me to give him my buggy. A nephew has the privilege of asking his uncle for anything, and the uncle must give it. In return the uncle can compel the nephew to work for him at any time.

Some time after that I went to visit an uncle of mine. He said, "Nephew, to-morrow they are going to have a Medicine Dance, and to-night they are going to have a trial performance.[28] Your aunt is going to buy provisions for the meal, and you may go along with her." So I went along. When we got to town we drank, and on the following day it was rumored that the woman and myself were missing. The buggy in which we were riding was quite broken, my hat was gone, and my trousers ripped open. I immediately went back to the place I had come from, even though the Medicine Dance was being given. The woman, I heard, was still missing. I then went to the place at which I had been staying, and remained there all day. I got very tired. In the morning I mounted a horse and went to town. [C48] There I was arrested. I was asked what I was doing in the town. "I am not doing anything; I am merely visiting around." Then the one in charge of the law said that I was to pay ten dollars and that if I did not do so, he would send me to prison. I therefore sold my horse for twenty dollars, and out of it I paid the ten

[D96] [28] The first part of the regular Medicine Dance is supposed to be merely a rehearsal for the following day when the main ceremony is given and is in consequence called the "trial" performance.